

# Which organized crime activities are most harmful and deserve being prioritized?

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# Harm is increasingly relevant in crime control policy

- Harm reduction is considered important goal in many policy communities
  - E.g., drug policy and counterterrorism but also poverty alleviation, anti-discrimination, pollution and disease control
- Harm is increasingly proposed as benchmark to set up crime control priorities
  - E.g., UK's 2008 Organized Crime Strategy
  - E.g., Stockholm program's prioritization of five criminal activities regarded as "serious"
- Many police agencies already use self-made tools to assess harms (e.g., Tusikov 2012)
- Great Recession has made us even more aware of need to allocated scarce resources efficiently

# The centrality of harm to crime

- Harm serves as “fulcrum between criminal conduct and the punitive sanction” (Hall, 1960: 213)
  - Link to harm is obscured in penal codes
- At least implicitly, most penal codes and sentencing policies reflect offence seriousness (harm + offender’s culpability)
  - E.g., maximum sentences
- Some European countries and U.S. states require the severity of the penalty to be proportionate to the seriousness of the offence
  - E.g., UK’s Criminal Justice Act of 2003

# Challenges of empirical harm assessment are daunting

- Few academic attempts to assess the harms of crime
- Huge conceptual and technical challenges
  - Morality, cultural and socio-economic variability and subjectivity
  - Infinitude, standardization, causality
  - Gross v. net harms
  - Quantification
  - Incommensurability
- To deal with them, Greenfield and Paoli (2013) developed harm assessment framework
  - Tested it on 4 crimes in Belgian Science Policy-funded project
    - Cocaine trafficking
    - Human trafficking
    - VAT fraud
    - Tobacco smuggling and counterfeiting

# Harm assessment framework

Construct business model



Identify possible harms and bearers  
(taxonomy)

Rate  
severity  
of harm  
(scale)



Evaluate severity and  
incidence of harm



Rate  
incidence of  
criminal activity  
and of harm in  
relation to  
criminal activity  
(scale)



Prioritize harms  
(matrix)



Establish causality of harm

# Research design

- Draw on multiple data sources, largely, but not exclusively from criminal justice system
  - 189 data files recorded in organized crime database of Belgian Federal Police from 2006 to 2008
  - 69 criminal proceedings from 2003 to 2009
  - Organized crime reports and statistics
  - Interviews with 31 experts on cocaine, human trafficking and money laundering from CJ system and other experts
  - Interviews with 15 imprisoned traffickers
  - Scientific literature and media (some not Belgian)
- Triangulate data to validate findings
  - Admit other experts' judgment but not our own, not codifying our prior opinions as fact, but possibly understating some harms
- Assess only harms to Belgium

# Outline

- **Application of harm framework to human trafficking**
  - Comparative analysis with cocaine trafficking
  - Conclusions

# Working through harm assessment process

**Construct business model**



Identify possible harms and bearers  
(Taxonomy)

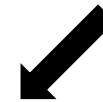
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Establish causality of harm



# Two main variants of trafficking

- Trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation (“sex trafficking”)
  - 189 “new” criminal proceedings and 56 “new” victims assisted by shelter NGOs in 2009
- Trafficking for the purposes of forced labor (“labor trafficking”)
  - 173 “new” criminal proceedings and 76 “new” victims assisted by shelter NGOs in 2009
- Other variants foreseen by 2005 Belgian trafficking bill less relevant
  - Trafficking for the purposes of forced crime
  - Trafficking for the purposes of begging
  - Trafficking for the purposes of removal of organs
- Accompanying activities
  - Use or threat of violence
  - Corruption
  - Forgery
  - Money laundering
- No enabled activity identified

# Sex trafficking

- Most victims and perpetrators originate from Bulgaria, and, to a lesser extent, Romania and Nigeria
  - Since 2007 Bulgarians and Romanians no longer need to be smuggled
  - Few victims are also Belgian women
- Since 2005 degree of exploitation and violence have declined
  - Most victims know they are going to work as prostitutes
    - Forced prostitution takes place rarely, concerns primarily Roma victims
  - Receive up to 50% of their earnings
  - Are subjected to less actual violence, but still threatened
  - Do not consider themselves “victims”

# Labor trafficking

- Victims are also of foreign origin
  - Bulgarian, Turkish and Brazilian victims are exploited in horticulture and constructions sites, sweatshops and transportation companies
  - Chinese victims are primarily exploited in restaurants
    - Only these victims need to be smuggled
  - Less frequently, victims from other countries are subject to domestic servitude
- Victims of labor trafficking are subjected to less physical violence than sex trafficking victims
  - Suffer harms to physical and psychological integrity because of insufficient workplace safety
  - Most victims do not regard themselves as such

# Revenues and money laundering

- Revenues can be substantial for perpetrators but are rarely sensational
  - Head of largest criminal organization grossed €50,000 per month (minus rent for 20 brothels)
  - Owner of Chinese restaurant saved €1 m in ten years thanks to labor trafficking
- Profits are mostly exported abroad or spent on luxurious lifestyle
  - Some profits are invested in Belgium, though

# Working through harm assessment process

Construct business model



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Prioritize harms  
(matrix)



Establish causality of harm

# Taxonomy delineates type & bearers

	BEARER OF HARM			
	Individuals	Private-Sector Entities	Government Entities	Environment
TYPE OF HARM				
Functional integrity	X*	X**	X**	X***
Material interest	X	X	X	n/a
Reputation	X	X	X	n/a
Privacy	X	X	X	n/a

*Source:* authors drawing from von Hirsch and Jareborg (1991) and others.

*Notes:* X = applicable; n/a = not applicable;

\* Functional integrity = Physical and psychological integrity;

\*\* Functional integrity = Operational integrity;

\*\*\* Functional integrity = Physical, operational, and aesthetic integrity

# Possible harms primarily concern individuals

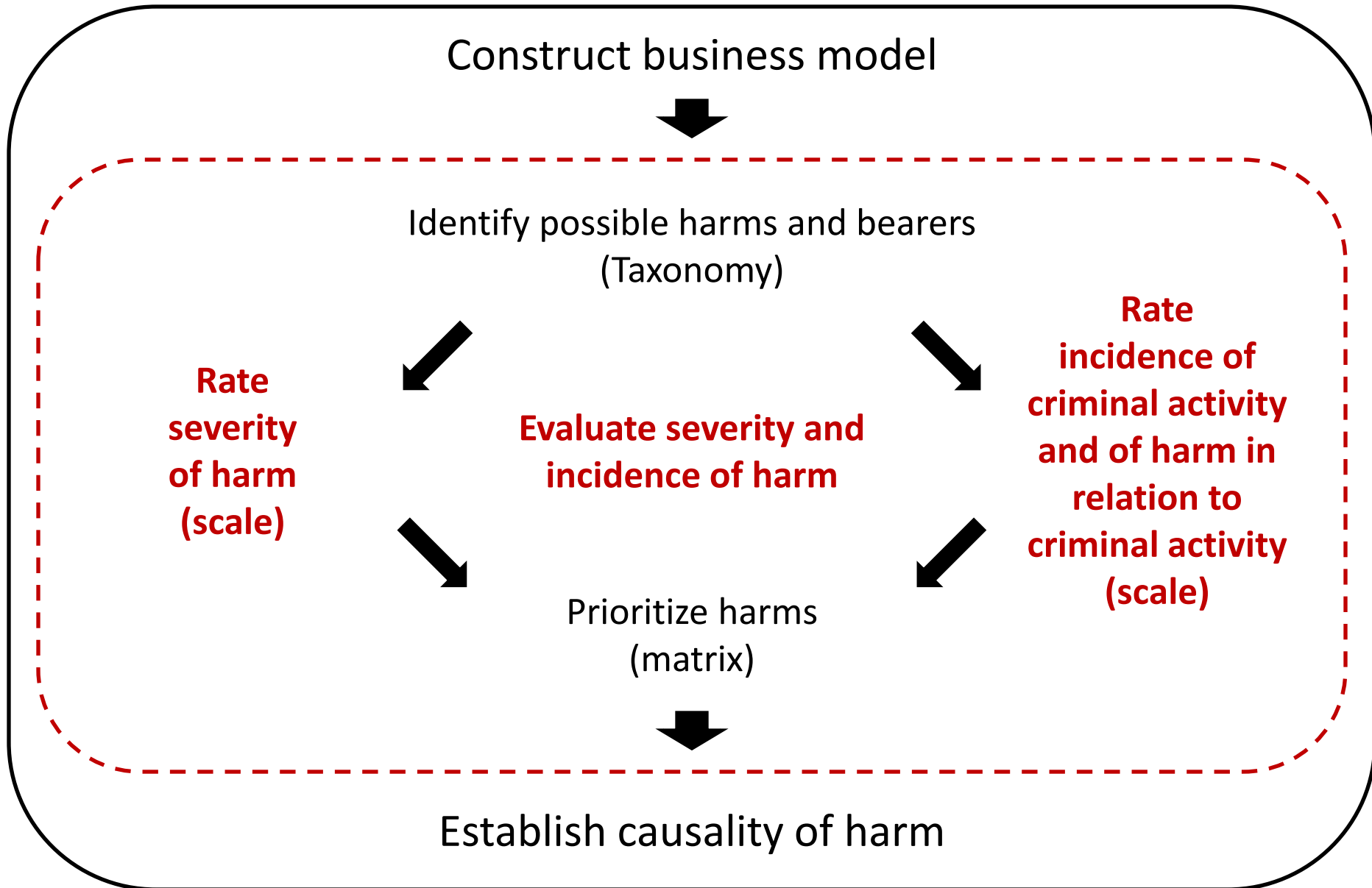
	Sex trafficking	Labor trafficking	Money laundering	Violence	Corruption	Forgery	Bearers
<b>POSSIBLE HARMS TO INDIVIDUALS, specifically to their:</b>							
<b>Functional integrity</b>							
Loss of life	X			X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Victims of sex trafficking</li> <li>- Victims of sex trafficking and offenders, if targeted by the use of violence</li> </ul>
Other physical and psychological	X	X		X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Victims of sex and labor trafficking</li> <li>- Victims, offenders, victims' relatives and sex customers , if targeted by use of violence</li> </ul>
Only psychological	X	X		X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Victims of sex and labor trafficking</li> <li>- Victims, offenders, victims' relatives, sex customers , CJ officers and "police witnesses," if targeted by threat of violence</li> </ul>
Material interests	X	X		X			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Victims of sex and labor trafficking</li> <li>- Sex customers , offenders, CJ officers and "police witnesses," if extorted</li> <li>- Offenders, if their properties are damaged</li> <li>- (Intended recipients of government services)</li> </ul>
Reputation	X	X					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Victims of sex and labor trafficking</li> <li>- CJ officers, if targeted by defamation attempts</li> </ul>
Privacy	X	X				X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Victims of sex and labor trafficking</li> <li>- Uninvolved individuals whose identity documents have been counterfeited</li> </ul>

# Possible harms also concern other bearers

	Sex trafficking	Labor trafficking	Money laundering	Violence	Corruption	Forgery	Bearers
<b>POSSIBLE HARMS TO PRIVATE-SECTOR ENTITIES, specifically to their:</b>							
Functional integrity			X				- Businesses controlled with human trafficking revenues
Material interests	X	X	X				- Legally “compliant” businesses, particularly brothels and construction sites, if suffering unfair competition
Reputation			X				- Businesses controlled with human trafficking revenues
“Privacy”			X				- ”
<b>POSSIBLE HARMS TO GOVERNMENT ENTITIES, specifically to their:</b>							
Functional integrity					X		- Government entities, if officials or representatives are corrupted
Material interests		X					- Government entities, and eventually the intended recipients of government services, e.g., if taxes and social security are not paid
Reputation	X	X	X	X	X	X	- Government entities, if officials or representatives are corrupted - Central government, if it cannot uphold laws
“Privacy”						X	- Government entities, if documents are forged
<b>POSSIBLE HARMS TO THE ENVIRONMENT, specifically to its:</b>							
Functional integrity							



# Working through harm assessment process



# Common benchmarks gauge severity

<b>SEVERITY RATING</b>	<b>Level of individual's living standard at which damage occurs</b>	<b>Level of entity's mission capability at which damage occurs</b>
<b>Catastrophic</b>	1°: Subsistence, consisting of survival, but with maintenance of no more than elementary capacities to function	1°: Viability, consisting of survival, but with maintenance of no more than elementary capacities to function
<b>Grave</b>	2°: Minimal standard of living	2°: Minimal mission capabilities
<b>Serious</b>	3°: Adequate standard of living	3°: Adequate mission capabilities
<b>Moderate</b>	4°: Enhanced standard of living	4°: Enhanced mission capabilities
<b>Marginal</b>	Marginal or no effect at any level	Marginal or no effect at any level

- Drawn from von Hirsch and Jareborg's (1991) living-standard approach
- Extended to other bearers by analogy, e.g., from living standard to capability to achieve mission for private-sector and government entities
- Used to assess effects of intrusions upon different interests (functional integrity, material interest, reputation, and privacy), levels of analysis require specification

# Incidence provides grounding for prioritizing harms

Matrix of severity, incidence, and priorities

SEVERITY	INCIDENCE				
	Always	Persistently	Occasionally	Seldom	Rarely
Catastrophic	H	H	H	H/M	M/H
Grave	H	H	H/M	M/H	M
Serious	H	H/M	M/H	M	L
Moderate	H/M	M/H	M	L	L
Marginal	M/H	M	L	L	L

*Source:* authors based on Greenfield and Camm, 2005.

*Notes:* H = Highest priority; M = Medium priority; L = Lowest priority; we use “non applicable” for harms that are irrelevant in a particular context.

**Matrix offers preliminary basis for addressing  
incommensurability, using quantitative and qualitative data**

# Human trafficking is rare

- Despite “dark number,” available data suggests that hundreds, at most a thousand, are affected yearly
  - Estimates can vary depending on whether labor trafficking includes broader forms of economic exploitation
- Compared to annual flow of about 120,000 legal migrants, human trafficking is rare

# Serious actual harms mostly accrue to individuals

	Severity	Within-activity incidence	Combined incidence	Activity
<b>HARMS TO INDIVIDUALS, specifically to their:</b>				
<b>Functional integrity</b>				
Loss of life	Catastrophic	Rarely	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sex trafficking leading to e.g., lethal drug overdose, suicide</li> <li>- Violence against sex trafficking victims and offenders (i.e., murder or manslaughter)</li> </ul>
Other physical and psychological	Grave	Rarely	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sex trafficking (e.g., forced prostitution or unprotected sex)</li> <li>- Violence against victims and offenders (e.g., rape)</li> </ul>
	Serious	Rarely	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Labor trafficking (e.g., job accident requiring hospitalization)</li> <li>- Violence against victims and offenders (e.g., assault)</li> </ul>
	Moderate	Occasionally persistently	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Labor trafficking (e.g., living /working in unsafe conditions)</li> <li>- Violence against victims (e.g., restrictions of liberty of movement)</li> </ul>
	Moderate	Rarely	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Labor trafficking (e.g., job accident with limited consequences)</li> <li>- Violence against victims, offenders and sex customers (e.g., assault with limited physical consequences)</li> </ul>
	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sex and labor trafficking (e.g., living/working in sub-par conditions)</li> <li>- Violence against victims and offenders (e.g., petty assault)</li> </ul>
	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Violence against sex customers (e.g., petty assault)</li> </ul>

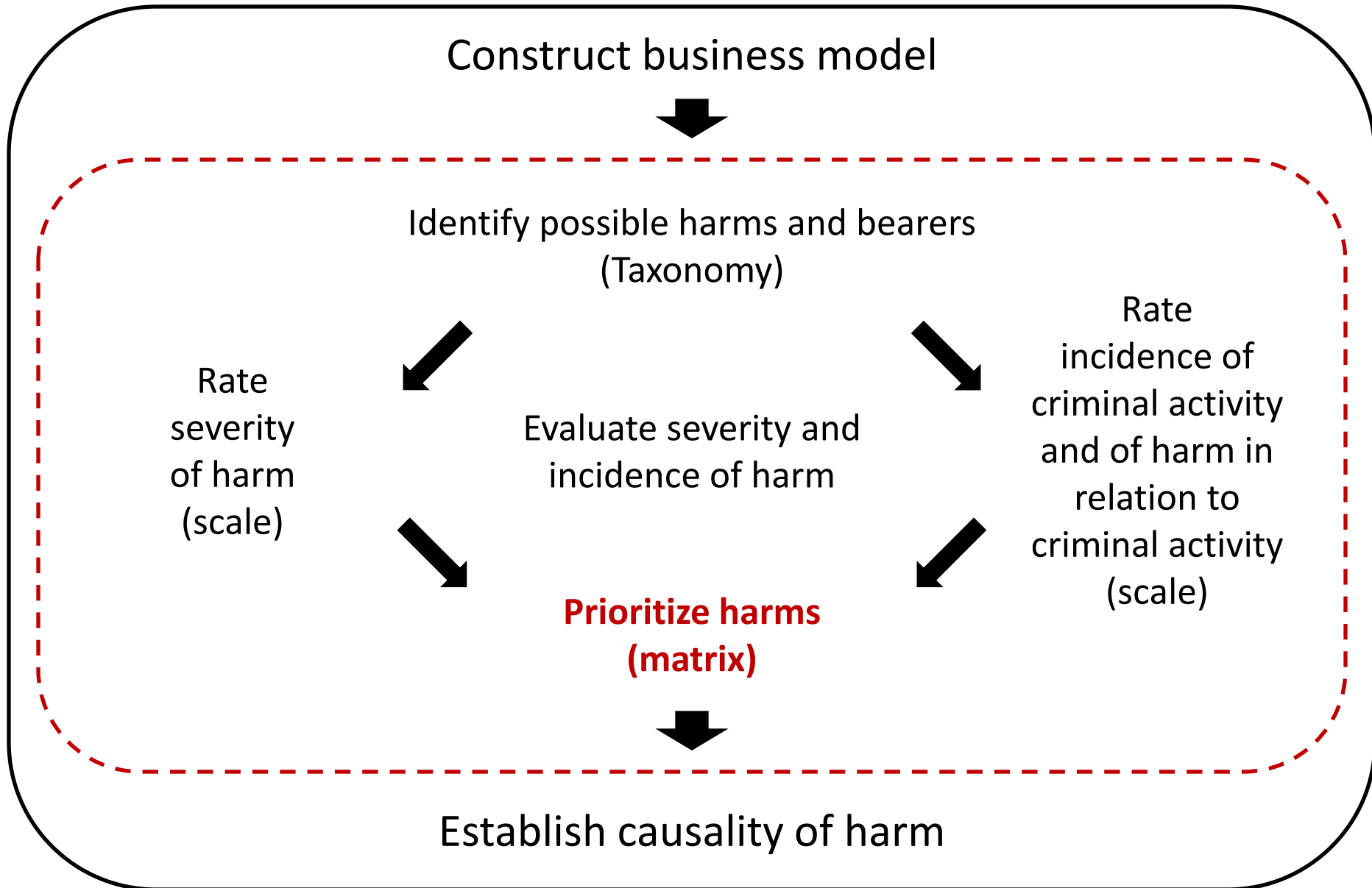
# Serious actual harms mostly accrue to individuals

	Severity	Within- activity incidence	Combined incidence	Activity
<b>HARMS TO INDIVIDUALS, specifically to their:</b>				
<b>Functional integrity</b>				
Only psychological	Serious	Occasionally	Rarely	- Sex and labor trafficking (e.g., debt bonding, “loverboy”) - Violence against sex trafficking victims (e.g., voodoo rituals)
	Moderate marginal	Occasionally persistently	Rarely	- Violence against and offenders (e.g., intimidation)
	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Violence against sex customers, CJ officers and witnesses
<b>Material interests</b>	Serious	Persistently	Rarely	- Sex and labor trafficking (e.g., debt bonding)
	Moderate	Persistently	Rarely	- Sex and labor trafficking (e.g., receiving no pay)
	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	- Sex and labor trafficking (e.g., receiving sub-par pay)
	Marginal	Occasionally	Rarely	- Violence against customers of sex trafficking victims, offenders, CJ officers and witnesses (e.g., extortion, damages to property)
<b>Reputation</b>	Serious to moderate	Persistently	Rarely	- Sex trafficking (i.e., having to work as prostitute)
	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	- Labor trafficking
<b>Privacy</b>	Serious	Rarely	Rarely	- Sex and labor trafficking (e.g., captivity) - Violence against trafficking victims and offenders (i.e., kidnapping)
	Moderate	Occasionally persistently	Rarely	- Sex and labor trafficking (e.g., control of documents)

# Marginal harms also accrue to others

	Severity	Within-activity incidence	Combined incidence	Activity
<b>HARMS TO PRIVATE-SECTOR ENTITIES, specifically to their:</b>				
<b>Functional integrity</b>	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Money laundering
<b>Material interests</b>	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	- Sex and labor trafficking resulting in unfair competition for legally “compliant” (non-offending) businesses
<b>Reputation</b>	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Money laundering
<b>“Privacy”</b>	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Money laundering
<b>HARMS TO GOVERNMENT, specifically to its:</b>				
<b>Functional integrity</b>	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Corruption of government officials or representatives
<b>Material interests</b>	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	- Labor trafficking (e.g., taxes or social benefits are not paid)
	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Forgery of social security documents
<b>Reputation</b>	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Corruption of government officials or representatives
	Marginal	Always	Rarely	- All criminal activities
<b>“Privacy”</b>	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	- Forgery of official documents

# Working through harm assessment process





# Very few harms get high priority ranking

	Severity	Within-activity incidence	Combined incidence	Priority	Activity
<b>HARMS TO INDIVIDUALS, specifically to their:</b>					
<b>Functional integrity</b>					
Loss of life	Catastrophic	Rarely	Rarely	<b>M/H<sub>i</sub></b>	- Sex trafficking - Violence against sex trafficking victims and offenders
Other physical and psychological	Grave	Rarely	Rarely	<b>M<sub>i</sub></b>	- Sex trafficking - Violence against trafficking victims and offenders
	Serious	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Labor trafficking - Violence against trafficking victims and offenders
	Moderate	Occasionally persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Labor trafficking - Violence against trafficking victims
	Moderate	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Labor trafficking - Violence against trafficking victims, offenders and sex customers
	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking - Violence against trafficking victims and offenders
	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Violence against sex customers
Only psychological	Serious	Occasionally	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking - Violence against sex trafficking victims
	Moderate to marginal	Occasionally persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Violence against trafficking victims and offenders
	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Violence against sex customers, law enforcement officers and witnesses

	Severity	Within-activity incidence	Combined incidence	Priority	Activity
Material interests	Serious	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking
	Moderate	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking
	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking
	Marginal	Occasionally	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Violence against customers of sex trafficking victims, offenders, CJ officers and witnesses
Reputation	Serious to moderate	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex trafficking
	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Labor trafficking
Privacy	Serious	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking - Violence against trafficking victims and offenders
	Moderate	Occasionally persistently	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking
HARMS TO PRIVATE-SECTOR ENTITIES, specifically to their:					
Functional integrity	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>	- Money laundering
Material interests	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>	- Sex and labor trafficking resulting in unfair competition for legally “compliant” (non-offending) businesses
Reputation	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>	- Money laundering
“Privacy”	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>	- Money laundering
HARMS TO GOVERNMENT ENTITIES, specifically to their:					
Functional integrity	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>g</sub>	- Corruption of government officials
Material interests	Marginal	Persistently	Rarely	L <sub>g</sub>	- Labor trafficking
	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>g</sub>	- Forgery of social security documents
Reputation	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>g</sub>	- Corruption of government officials
	Marginal	Always	Rarely	L <sub>g</sub>	- All criminal activities
“Privacy”	Marginal	Rarely	Rarely	L <sub>g</sub>	- Forgery of official documents

# Within-activity incidence may be emphasized in policy choices

- If government decides not to tolerate human trafficking, it might be more appropriate to apply rankings on the incidence of the harm in relation to the activity
  - Framework still offers a systematic means of thinking through priorities

# Working through harm assessment process

Construct business model



Identify possible harms and bearers  
(Taxonomy)

Rate  
severity  
of harm  
(scale)



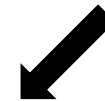
Evaluate severity and  
incidence of harm



Prioritize harms  
(matrix)



Rate  
incidence of  
criminal activity  
and of harm in  
relation to  
criminal activity  
(scale)



**Establish causality of harm**

# Most serious harms are “intrinsic”

- Some harms, including those arising from trafficking itself, are “remote”
- Most harms to victims, including violence, are not consequence of prohibition on trafficking but stem from activity
  - Nevertheless, government policies affect overall incidence of trafficking and severity of some harms to victims
- All harms to other bearers arise from prohibition
  - Unfair competition of businesses employing human trafficking victims is exception
- Criminal legislation has no impact on harms but affects “official” incidence
  - Establishes where human trafficking ends and labor law violations begin

# Outline

- Application of harm framework to human trafficking
- **Comparative analysis with cocaine trafficking**
- Conclusions

# Huge differences in activity incidence

- Whereas human trafficking is rare, cocaine trafficking is at least “persistent”
  - U.S. State Department reports (2006, 2010) suggest 20+ tons of cocaine or 25% of cocaine moving from South America (about 30 tons) enter and/or transit Belgium each year
  - Belgian police seize at least a ton yearly
- Given variability of shipment quantities—grams to tons—and frequency of seizures,
  - small-scale operations occur weekly if not daily
  - large-scale operations occur monthly if not weekly

# Harms to individuals: HT produces more harms to “real” victims, but is rarer than CT

- Human trafficking (HT) produces a larger variety of harms to individuals than cocaine trafficking (CT)
  - Unlike CT, HT itself, not just accompanying violence, generate most harms
  - HT-related harms to individuals occur much more frequently in relation to the activity
  - However, as HT is rare and CT occurs persistently, the harms to individuals of both activities obtain same priorities
  - Only catastrophic and grave harms to functional integrity get a priority ranking higher than low
- In HT harms are primarily suffered by “real” victims, in CT by perpetrators and accomplices



# Harms to individuals: HT produces more harms to “real” victims, but is rarer than CT

COCAINE TRAFFICKING				HUMAN TRAFFICKING		
	Severity	Incidence	Priority	Severity	Incidence	Priority
<b>HARMS TO INDIVIDUALS, specifically to their:</b>						
<b>Functional integrity</b>						
Loss of life	<b>Catastrophic</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>M/H<sub>i</sub></b>	<b>Catastrophic</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>M/H<sub>i</sub></b>
Other physical and psychological	<b>Grave</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>M<sub>i</sub></b>	<b>Grave</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>M<sub>i</sub></b>
	Serious	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	Serious	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
	Moderate	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	Moderate	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
	Marginal	Rarely to occasionally	L <sub>i</sub>	Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
Only psychological	n.a.	n.a.		Serious	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
				Moderate to marginal	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
	Marginal	Occasionally	L <sub>i</sub>	Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
<b>Material interests</b>				Serious	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
	n.a.	n.a.		Moderate	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
				Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
<b>Reputation</b>	Moderate	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	Serious to moderate	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
	Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>	Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
<b>Privacy</b>				Serious	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>
	n.a.	n.a.		Moderate	Rarely	L <sub>i</sub>

# Harms to businesses: slight differences in type, incidence and bearers

- Neither activity results in harms to NGOs
- CT generates more frequent harms to businesses' functional integrity and reputation
- HT alone generates harms to material interest and “privacy”
- All harms are of marginal severity and score low priority
- Some businesses affected by HT are legally compliant and suffer harms to material interests

COCAINE TRAFFICKING				HUMAN TRAFFICKING		
	Severity	Incidence	Priority	Severity	Incidence	Priority
<b>HARMS TO PRIVATE-SECTOR ENTITIES, specifically to their:</b>						
<b>Functional integrity</b>	Marginal	Occasionally	L <sub>ps</sub>	Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>
<b>Material interests</b>	n.a.	n.a.		Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>
<b>Reputation</b>	Marginal	Occasionally	L <sub>ps</sub>	Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>
<b>“Privacy”</b>	n.a.	n.a.		Marginal	Rarely	L <sub>ps</sub>

# Harms to government: differences in type, incidence and priority

- Corruption related to both activities generates similar--marginal and rare--harms to functional integrity and reputation
- In both, harms to material interests (health costs for both, unpaid taxes for HT), only for HT to “privacy” (forgery)
- Harms to reputation resulting from CT and accompanying activities score medium priority, given persistent incidence of CT

	COCAINE TRAFFICKING			HUMAN TRAFFICKING		
	Severity	Incidence	Priority	Severity	Incidence	Priority
<b>HARMS TO GOVERNMENT ENTITIES, specifically to their:</b>						
<b>Functional integrity</b>	Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$	Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$
<b>Material interests</b>	Moderate	Rarely	$L_g$	Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$
	Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$			
<b>Reputation</b>	<b>Marginal</b>	<b>Persistently</b>	<b><math>M_g</math></b>	Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$
	Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$	Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$
<b>“Privacy”</b>	n.a.	n.a.		Marginal	Rarely	$L_g$

# Harms to environment: No harms accrue from HT, slight harms from CT

- Marginal and occasional harms to functional integrity of social environment arise from retail dealing, enabled activity of CT

COCAINE TRAFFICKING			HUMAN TRAFFICKING		
Severity	Incidence	Priority	Severity	Incidence	Priority
<b>HARMS TO THE ENVIRONMENT, specifically to its:</b>					
<b>Functional integrity (social environment)</b>	Marginal	Occasionally	L <sub>e</sub>	n.a.	n.a.

# Many HT harms are intrinsic, all non-use-related harms of CT arise from prohibition

- All CT harms arise from illegal status of cocaine and specific enforcement practices
  - Use-related harms to-be-determined
- Most HT harms to victims, including violence, are not consequence of prohibition but stem from activity
  - All harms to other bearers, with one exception, arise from prohibition
- Comparison does not imply that prohibiting cocaine is wrong, as analysis does not consider use-related harms
  - Suggests that policy-makers should consider how best to minimize unintended consequences of policies and weigh them against attainment of policy goals

# What have we learned?

## Lessons from comparison

- HT and CT in Belgium produce less harms than claimed
- Only most-serious harms to individuals' functional integrity consistently score higher than low
  - HT produces wider array of serious harms to individuals but rarely
  - CT results less frequently in harms to individuals but persistently
- Individuals and businesses affected by CT are primarily “offenders”/accomplices, HT also harms “real” victims
- HT harms are largely “intrinsic,” CT (non-use) harms arise from illegal status and enforcement practices

# What have we learned?

## Methodological and policy lessons

- Framework enables comparisons of distribution of harms and rankings within categories, but some hurdles remain
  - Standardization, according to living standard, poses challenges
  - Assessing the incidence of activity is crucial
- Framework does not enable comparisons across categories
  - Priority rankings offer preliminary basis for addressing incommensurability of harms
- Decisions about prioritization are normative due to incommensurability of harms and differences in bearers' roles in criminal activities
- Framework is reliable, valid means to inform decisions
  - Not only crime-control methods but also objectives should be evidence-based